[13 cont.]

776 !Khuwa and Erob were the same. In any case, the expression Ellob used by these people comes from Outjo, where there are a number of Christian Bushmen.

[772] !Khuwa lives in the heavenly house χ'ain !nao gároba. The people in heaven eat only large flies, !Khu !Khua-i. The figure /Nawas is unknown. The evil antagonist of Huwe, //Gauab, is also absent. These Bushmen, however, have the same doctrine [774] of the two souls as the !Kung of the east.

775 When someone dies, he becomes the property of !Khuwa; he is a !Khunga. The actual soul, χ'aobe, goes to the heavenly house, remains there, and does nothing but eat large flies. From the bodies of the dead [14] arise the //gaúa-i, which run around in the bush and stir up trouble. They correspond to the akwapungu [171] and azizi of the Ovambo. "But the actual souls of the Ovambo and the Bushmen go different ways; those of the Ovambo go under the earth where they have their fields and herds, but those of the Bushmen go up." Since the missionary Mr. Kylves expressed the desire to make some detailed studies of the Bushmen himself, I gladly left this attractive field of study to my kind host.

197 192 [101] Finally, a number of words indicate that these people are to be included in the Hei//om-Nama group, a point which is very striking with respect to the !Kung elments in their world view.

German	Ukuambi Bushmen	Nama
Sun	shoreba	sóres
Moon	!háwa	//khab(*)
Stars	/nãmirõ-i	/gamiros
Dome of the sky	shorche	≠kanis
Earth	/huwa	!hub-eib
Lightning	/harabé	náwab
Thunder	!nau	!gurub(*)
Rain	≠nanuba	/awib(*)
Lion	χ'amba	χ'ami
Leopard	!kui-oba	!arub(*)
Large bird	anite	--
Dog	arib	arib
Boa constrictor	!aoba	--
Zebra	χorebe	--

[57 cont.]

776 Dama, and the translation of Gauab as "devil" comes from this
[171] circle of ideas. A baptized !Kung in /Nuiseb also told me that the Bushmen had been made by the devil, for the latter, as the old doctors reported to me, had once said to things: "You shall
[773] be a kudu, you an eland, you a Bushman," etc., and so everything was. Among the !Kung Bushmen /Nawa is by no means always evil. He directly brings luck on the hunt, and a kind of primitial offering is sent to him in that small pieces of the flesh of the game are thrown into the fire.

/Nawa, however, usually also sends sickness, in part with, and in part without the consent of the great captain. /Nawa is neither in heaven nor on earth, but runs about on threads in the air, where the other small spirits also run about. Whether or not /Nawa
[821] has a wife is unknown. The wind has no role in the tall bush forest, but my experience among the Bushmen of the western Kalahari and the Namib indicates that /Nawa is also connected in some way with the wind, since his most personal appearance is in the violent wind spouts, and among the Naukluft Bushmen one is not supposed to speak ill of the wind because the Gauab would overturn the windscreen.

Aside from /Nawa, there is a whole host of other small spirits, such as those who are at the disposal of the great captain
[821] and /Nawa and live in the sky, where the stars are their campfires. They are the ones who steal the soul from human beings and take it to the great captain. Then there are those who, like /Nawa, run to and fro on threads stretching between heaven and earth. Very evil little spirits live in the water, and the forest and veld are peopled by the little Gauab. These, however, are only the
[775] flesh-born spirits of deceased human beings. And with this we come to

18. Doctrine of the Soul and Belief in Immortality

775 The life principle of human beings is the soul, cha. The
● [774] same word also means heart. This cha is immortal. The Gauab who live among the stars take it to the great captain's house. The souls of all peoples, even those of the Whites, live there on the

[58 cont.]

[113] Specimens of Bushmen Folklore, London, 1910-11, pp. 10-13.

776 be especially significant. The !Kung at that time told of a being called /Chue, who transforms itself in turn into various fruit trees and veldkost plants, into a Herero, etc. One day he transformed himself into a //gui tree, his wife ate of it, the tree disappeared, and /Chue changed into a fly. Another time he even became a waterhole, then again a gecko; at night [59] he always changes back into a little human being. The Herero look for him, but cannot find him. /Chue then makes a fire and dies. His father sees this and then moves to his homeland on a large mountain called //Noa. We shall probably not go wrong if we identify this /Chue with Huwe. This Huwe, as is known, is sometimes equated with the great captain ǂ'u. In this old setting he also has distinct traits of Heiseb.

782 The !Kung who were W.H.J. Bleek's informants were also familiar with a prayer song addressed to the new moon. In ac-
[534] companiment, they blew on trumpets made of antelope horns. (Bleek-Lloyd, ibid., p. 15.)

787 The old !Kung called the prophesy sticks /Chu, which evidently is the same name again as that of the great captain and is in agreement with Dornan's report concerning the Masarwa that Modimo himself spoke from the prophesy sticks.

755 Vedder reports that in case of illness a messenger is sent
769 to an ancestor's grave and prays: A dsi-dsi mi !hâ tĭ ǂ'ai-a? (Why is my son ill?) ǂnu /kôa (to live in health).

●774 While my informants denied the presence of any animistic
825 conceptions, the old !Kung believe that certain snakes, lizards,
775 and antelope found in the vicinity of graves represent spirits of the
171 dead (1), as they do among the Bantu.

1. W.H.J. Bleek and L.C. Lloyd, ibid., p. 430.

[64 cont.]

825 existence. The appearance of the ring-necked snake indicates
[787] misfortune.

Animistic conceptions are more pervasive in the world
●774 picture of the Masarwa (2). According to Dornan, each thing is a

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2. The Kalahari Bushmen (Dornan, op. cit., p. 165) have some knowledge of the stars. The Southern Cross is a giraffe, but the Cape Bushmen regard it as a group of lions. Some of the Bushmen regard the stars as animals or human beings who have gone up to the sky.

773 The following story is told: During the girls' initiation a girl who possessed magical powers nodded to some lions and they were immediately transformed into stars.

The Cape Bushmen told another story: During the girls' initiation a girl was quarreling with her mother because the latter refused to give her certain roots that may not be eaten at such times. The girl seized the roots and the ashes and threw them toward the sky. The roots became stars, the ashes became the Milky Way. -- Shooting stars signify misfortune.

774 kind of spirit. Human beings and animals can each transform
[825] themselves into the other. Individual doctors change into leopards, and many animals are regarded as other appearances of man, especially the springbok, the baboon, and a number of snakes. When a ring-necked snake approaches a village, it indicates
[177] death. Bantu influence is undoubtedly at work here.

The !Kung doctrine of two souls reappears in a different
[184] 774 form among the Masarwa. The shadow of each thing, as well as
775 that of the human being, is its other soul. They believe that the shadow soul remains in the vicinity of the grave, while the self walks in another place where it meets with the fathers. It is supposed to be warm there, and supposedly there is much game. In the beyond one acts the same as on this earth.

MASARWA OR OVONGGO BUSHMEN

[64 cont.]

600 769 the beyond one acts the same as on this earth. Like the Namib Bushmen, they throw little stones on the graves and at the same time pray that the spirit of the deceased may bring them luck (Dornan, op. cit., p. 146).

787 [774] Conceptions concerning dreams are tied in with the Lulu doctrine of conscience. In a dream the other self speaks with the dreamer, and this may be good or bad. The other self may be influenced by enemies and thus do harm to the twin soul.

According to Dornan, the Bantu adopted the oracle sticks from the Bushmen. Every Masarwa carries four or five pieces with him. The female pieces are longer and narrower than the [825] male pieces. They are made from the hoofs of small mammals, [824] from wildebeest bones, and fruit kernels. The names of the four sticks are: Chowe, Kao, Daua, Gaichwe. The Masarwa believe [776] that [65] Thora and Huwe, and perhaps also Khauma, speak through these bones, and Mackenzie (1) states that the Bushmen

[113] 1. Ten Years North of the Orange River, p. 136.

had designated these bones as morimo aa'me (things of God).

The shoulderblade of the springbok is also used for divination by the Masarwa.

606 551 602 Among the Masarwa the mother-in-law may not look at her son-in-law and may not mention his name. The wife may say neither the name of her husband nor the names of his relatives.

Finally, concerning the Swamp Bushmen of the Okovonggo

105 101 delta, J. Seiner reports:

"The Tannekwe have summer and winter villages, as well as boats and goats, and engage in agriculture, fishing, and hunting. [563] The latter occupations are practiced by the pure Bushmen, whereas half-breeds and the pure Mambukuschu, who were stolen as children and reared by the Bushmen, occupy themselves with agriculture and subordinate tasks.

"The number of racially pure Bushmen among the Tannekwe [144] may be as high as 60 per cent, but as a result of the slight increase of true Bushmen, which they try to equalize by stealing the Mambukuschu children, they are undergoing a steady decrease, AND RACIAL MIXTURE IS PROGRESSING RAPIDLY,

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

At last a few more women joined the singers and the singing mounted, the voices took on several parts. At last the men began to join, dancing toward the circle in twos and threes, moaning the song in their throats, leaning on long staffs, their coming heralded by the dry, loud staccato of their rattles. 756 535 533

The men came from different directions, and they stood so tall and danced so strongly, with their muscles standing out on their necks, that their coming was like the coming of bull antelope, they were so radiant of strength and tension, they were so lithe and male. They came together out of the trees and, without the slightest change of pace, arranged themselves around the dance circle, wheeling slowly, one after the other, and the dance began.

The air was hot, the sun was shining strongly, the fire was sending a shuddering cloud of heat around the dancers, and as the dancers moved almost imperceptibly faster and faster, Gai suddenly flung his arms into the air and with a piercing shriek crashed to the ground. He landed stiffly with a bounce, his head cracking. On the ground he writhed and groaned, and Ukwane pulled him by the arms to remove his body from the dance circle. 786 756 535

Gai was in deep trance. Ukwane was ministering to Gai's body because Gai's spirit had rushed away.

Bushmen say that when the medicine in a medicine man becomes stimulated by a dance, warmed by the fire and by the heat of the man's body, the man's spirit may leave him, causing his body to fall because there is nothing there to hold it up, and fly into the veld, where it seeks out the evil that is troubling people. Some medicine men in this way have seen the spirits of the dead, some have seen the great god. At another dance we once attended, one man's spirit rushed into the veld, where it came upon a pride of lions that had been 774 ● 756 535

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

774 troubling the people by their constant presence and by their
756 deafening roars at night. The man's spirit spoke with the
535 lions, defied them, and ordered them away, and the lions did go; they troubled the people no longer.

786 When the spirit returns, the medicine man comes to him-
756 self, as Gai did presently. He stood up and ran into the veld,
535 gaining speed as he went. Far out in the veld he screamed, a shriek of definace, then turned and charged back toward the dance fire. He passed through the dance like a wind through dry leaves; the people ducked aside and shrank away from his feet, then settled together when he had gone by. Gai shrieked again, turned himself, and rushed back, charging bull-like toward the fire again; this time Ukwane seized his arms and though Gai plowed forward, Ukwane hung on, dragging behind with all his weight, until at last Gai fell headlong into the dance fire and his hair burst into flames.

Ukwane snatched him out and slapped out the fire in his hair, and Gai, his mouth open and his eyes quite wild, sparks still falling from his head like stars, strained against Ukwane's hands. At last he broke away.

786 In a moment he bent slowly over the fire and washed his
756 hands in the flames, then went to one of the women in the
535 circle of singers and, placing one hand on her chest, the other
783 on her back, shuddered and groaned as he sucked the evil from her, then straightened suddenly and shrieked the evil into the air. In this way Gai cured all the people, followed as he went by Ukwane, who now held Gai's arm to keep him upright. Before long, Gai had fallen again exhausted and was dragged by the ankles to a place in the shade.

786 I looked at him and saw that his eyes were closed, his eye-
756 lids puffed, and thought he seemed unconscious. His breath
535 came rasping through his mouth and nose, and his pulse, showing in "the heart's place," seemed very quick. But he

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

821 them or seek to gain beneficent influence from them. As far as we know they do not pray to them for food as the Cape Bushmen are said once to have done, or for rain as the Naron and Auen and /O /Kung do.[1]

The /Kung beliefs about rain, which I do not describe in detail in this paper, include the idea that rain is life-giving and makes the food plants and other vegetation grow, whereas the sun is death-giving. The /Kung do not now formally personify or deify rain or worship it, but may retain a vestige of an ancient personification of rain in praying to it, in a manner of speaking, as they also do to lightning. 'Fall silently, rain. Do not make such a noise. Do not be dangerous', they say. Or, to lightning, 'Do not come against me. Go to the other side.'

825 The /Kung do not attribute divinity to the mantis but, in calling it 'the servant of *//Gauwa*', perhaps they preserve a vestige or an echo of the Cape Bushman belief in */kaggen*. If they injure a mantis which is walking on them or throw one into the fire, [753] '*//Gauwa* would see this and say that his servant was being ill treated and would punish the person. He would make the person sick'. Mantises are *chi dole* (*chi*, thing; *dole*, bad) not because they harm you—they only prick and tickle you—but because they belong to *//Gauwa* and people are afraid of the 'owner'. The old people told them these things. We saw the /Kung hold mantises, however, without exhibiting fear or the uncanny fascinated feeling I had when I watched them (especially the huge female who lived with me, with her consort seemingly permanently attached to her, and fascinated me by never seeming to take her eyes off me as she made her slow and stately progress around the tent at night).

The /Kung react in quite a different way to millepedes. They say there are two kinds. The large one they call *ko ko chi nube*; the small one they call *choba* or *zoba*. One day a boy picked up a millepede and threw it toward a group of women. They jumped up and fled, shrieking. Talking about it afterwards, they explained that 'even men are afraid of millepedes'. (We observed several incidents of people jumping and running from them.) [753] They are very dangerous, the /Kung say. If one gets on you, the shock of fright you feel could kill you. 'Millepedes work with *//Gauwa*. He sends them to eat your nose when you are asleep.' If you put a *choba* in the fire when the *n/i* berries (*Grewia flava* D.C.) are still green, the berries will not ripen [278] properly and will not be sweet. If the /Kung find the ash of a millepede which has been burned in a veld fire and has kept its shape, they take the ash for a medicine. (Cf. Schapera's account that among the Naron and Auen 'the millipede, said to belong to *Hishe*, is only touched by them [magicians]; they dry it and use it powdered as medicine.'[2])

774 The /Kung do not believe that animals have spirits or souls or that earthly objects
825 (such as trees or water, for example) are entered by spirits or are themselves animated by having spirits of their own.

787 Divination is a secular practice among the /Kung. The oracle disks may be thrown and read by any man. They are five leather disks about two-and-a-half to three inches in diameter. The man who throws them gathers them into his cupped hands, flings them with a spreading motion on to a kaross on the ground, and reads what they reveal or predict. Different personifications are attributed to the disks, according to what the people want to learn from them. If advice about a hunt is wanted, the

[1] Schapera, *op. cit.*, pp. 176–7. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 197.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

775 and they have a respectful term, */airisi*, to use if they wish to show deference and be ingratiating. Actually the /Kung seemed to speak of the *//gaowasi* quite often and much less reluctantly than they spoke of the gods. I did not happen to hear them use */airisi* except when they were telling me the term.

775 772 The *//gaowasi* move about in the sky or on earth. All over the sky fine cords are stretched, like the strands of a spider's web, invisible to us but strong. The *//gaowasi* move on these cords and can go anywhere. They descend to earth on one which hangs down from the sky, the one by which the medicine men climb up when they go to see *//Gaowa* in the western sky.

775 772 821 The idea that the stars are the eyes of the dead, which some Bushmen believe, is not held by the Nyae Nyae /Kung. Some informants had heard that other people believed this. Lazy /Qui said he did not know; certainly enough people had died to account for there being so many stars. Others said stars are just stars there in the sky. Although they have names for several of them and stories about some, they do not know what substances stars are made of or what their nature is.

775 [761] 825 The /Kung associate falling stars with death. They do not believe that they are spirits of the dead but that they fall to earth and become insects which are colloquially called 'ant lions' (*Myrmeleonidae*, in the order of Neuroptera). These insects are common in the region. In the larval state they live in holes in the ground where one can see them spurting out grains of earth or sand. They devour ants. The /Kung believe that the bite of a fallen star may cause you to die the next day but that, if the star likes you and wishes to spare you, its bite will do you no harm. The old people have said so. *≠Gao/na* has no particular association with ant lions other than being the creator and controller of all things.

The spirits of dead persons are transmuted into *//gaowasi* by *≠Gao/na* in the east. When a person dies, *//gaowasi* come soon to take his spirit. The children of the gods are sometimes the ones who come, we were told, but any of the *//gaowasi* may do so, either ancestors of the dead person or non-related spirits.

[774] The *//gaowasi* pull the spirit out through the head of the corpse. The head is, likewise, the egress of the spirits of the medicine men. When the medicine men are in trance, [787] which the /Kung call half-death, their spirits go out temporarily from their bodies through their heads to encounter and combat *//Gaowa* and the *//gaowasi*, who lurk in the shadows around the dance fire, and it is through the heads that the spirits return.

[775] The spirit which the *//gaowasi* take from the corpse is distinct from life. The /Kung believe that life, *≠toa*, is inside the body of a person or animal, that it is put there and held there by the creator. It exists in all the vital organs in the abdomen, in blood, in the heart, lungs, throat, and mouth, and is everywhere in the head. It does not exist in the arms and legs, the /Kung believe, because they know that human beings and animals can be wounded in a limb or even lose one and not die, whereas a wound in the vital parts is likely to kill. Life dies in the body and stays there—dead, as the [774] body itself is there but dead. It is the spirit which does not die. The only word I know for spirit is *//gaowa*. The spirit is like air. It cannot be seen and cannot be kept by mortals. The *//gaowasi* take it and they take the heart and blood of the person as well. These the *//gaowasi* carry first into the western sky, to the place where *//Gaowa* lives, but they do not leave them with him. They carry them further, around by the south to the east, to the place where *≠Gao/na*, the great creator, lives.

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The Ceremonial Curing Dance A medicine man is going into a trance.

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to cast the sickness out, hurling it into the darkness back to *//Gauwa* or the *//gauwasi*, who are there beyond the firelight, with a sharp, yelping cry of *"kai kai kai."*

The medicine men are usually only in shallow trance at this point, but, when the curing has been going on for some time, they begin to reach a state of patterned frenzy. They no longer go around to the people, their spasms of grunting and shrieking become more frequent and violent, their stomachs heave, they stagger and sway. They rush to the fire, trample it, pick up the coals, set fire to their hair. They believe that fire activates the medicine in them. People hold them to keep them from falling and beat out the flames. The medicine men rush out into the darkness, where *//Gauwa* and the *//gauwasi* are lurking. They hurl burning sticks and swear at them. "Filthy face!" they screech. "Take away the sickness you have brought. You are bad. You want to kill us. Go away. . . . *Hishe*, you are a liar. This man will not die." At this point the medicine man may fall down in deep trance and appear to be unconscious or semiconscious, with eyes closed, stiff as a board, unable to walk. This stage of trance may last only a brief time or may continue for hours—even into the next day. Gradually it is resolved and the medicine man takes up his normal activities.

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The !Kung believe that at the time of deep trance the medicine man's spirit leaves his body and goes out to meet *//Gauwa* and the *//gauwasi*. They call this "half death." It is a dangerous time. The women must continue to sing the medicine music. The man's body must be watched over, rubbed, and kept warm by other medicine men who are in less deep trance.

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The violence and excitement of the ceremony have the effect, as in a

[p. 272]